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178 433 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of production and consumption still allow, with relative confidence, the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 156 433 The economic efficiency of the individual does not represent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of production and consumption, and, in the second place, the mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors [621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive individualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guaraní spirit.

178 433 771 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man has reached the importance that it has among the Guaraní is certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, including the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of ceremonies for contact with the supernatural and control of the personal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny • [476] of human beings. It may be a puxirão /a co-operative work party: see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon -- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

/57 cont./

423 [191] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

• 476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case,

476 171 one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin: for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aiomoóña as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

2: Schaden--67 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh64

/57 cont./

476 [114] [84] In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages 476 178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by [115] [654] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Bariri. It is necessary to have prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, [182] the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 621 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 [184] The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbyá and Ñandeva) buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/58 cont./

476 524 273 The day of puxíko is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, sustained by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxíko is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová patterns, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha: it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work: the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 128 [321] [164] Among the Mondéve of Dourados, where the puxíko seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a constitution of the solidarity /58/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxíko, he prefers to see it to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxíko without drinking would be difficult to have. -- As Aranhá, for its part, the puxíko is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist: they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the reappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

2: Schaden--69 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S144 Guarani S144

/69 cont./

476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Nandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Nandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões: the planting, too, was done in common, but without /its/ puxirão. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic intensification goes on, in conflict with the development of national village.

2r Schaden--70 F-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

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476 491 177 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help"; in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 463 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbyá of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canoes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Mbyá puxirões to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "raw," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 574 273 All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazendas or villages. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbyá). "But they do not slaughter /it/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

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/61 cont./
informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbbá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call puṛỹvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbbá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pyṛỹvõ /tic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbbá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

[243]
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A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

[596]

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakaiapéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for
the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the
"guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken
to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings,
but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1
hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears): that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion
stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than
from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief
of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen;
but when one of the elementary families has something special
in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small
pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their
parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The
girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller
brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take
home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the
situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[[771]] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite
transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative
effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning
money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production
is a source of pecuniary income nowadays considered indispensable
for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

241 462 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notice that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for the daily meals is clearly a female one.

178 594 476 596 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later heading regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puhcha*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work. We have practically no information about the importance of the *puhirõ* in the Cayuá past, but the widespread existence of the institution among Tupi-Guarani peoples certainly suggests that for the Cayuá, too, it was formerly, as now, a functioning arrangement for accomplishing certain types of work jointly. The *puhirõ* is a largely spontaneous affair. It is called the day before, or a few days in advance, by one individual or sometimes two—perhaps brothers, father and son, or cousins—who each have a certain piece of work they wish to have done jointly. A varying number of people may be asked to come on the specified day, according to the extent of the work to be done and the amount of *chuí* beer the host of the work party has to offer in return for help. The ones asked may not all necessarily come, but most people generally do. They also tend to be relatives and those closest to the giver of the work arty. It should be mentioned, however, that in a village the size of Taquapiri nearly everybody is considered in some way related, so kinship, taken broadly, is hardly definitive of the composition of the *puhirõ*. Women may also give joint work parties for certain female tasks, such as corn planting, but do so less frequently than men, at least at the present time.

Puhirõ work is, of course, joint work. It seems possible, on a purely conjectural basis, that the modern *puhirõ* represents the survival from aboriginal times of some sort of reciprocal work obligations among the lineages or extended families of a village, or perhaps even between neighboring villages where there were mutual relatives. The present composition of the work parties would certainly not preclude such a possibility, but there is no unmistakable evidence for it. The joint and concurrent calling of *puhirõ* by close relatives, father and son, and so forth, suggests that aboriginally the extended family was basic to the institution.

It is rather difficult to say whether more or less joint work is carried on now through recourse to the *puhirõ* than through whatever aboriginal arrangement corresponded to it. The writer suspects that the answer is less joint work now; there are at present a fair number of people at Taquapiri who never or almost never give a *puhirõ* and also those—though not always the same ones—who never or rarely participate in the *puhirõ* of others. Some individuals say they would like to be able to give a *puhirõ* but cannot because they lack the necessary corn or other alternative ingredients required to make *chuí* for the workers. In some cases the reason for this lack is that these individuals are "over-specialized" as pagés and spend too much time away from the village working for their shamans and too little attending to their own agricultural affairs. It may also be that the economy of the elementary family unit is bettable from year to year in production and matters requiring ability to call participants to *puhirõ* than was the case with the larger extended family unit.

It is unclear whether any differences exist between the present and the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[20] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in these aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[20] "Changa" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the connoting sense of working for him for another—to their own almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.[10]

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.[11]

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *bolicho* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapiri—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokué* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puhiño* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puhiño* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *chirí* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as payés, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

[10] Considerably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are no longer isolated. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

[11] One of the most important uses of *kuru* calabash as strainers is in connection with *chirí* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substances which may occur in it as it is served.

178* 469 178* 825 415 463 285 [462] [438] 178* 463 178* 464 465 476 648 [hn]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first.

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[39] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production.

The *tapéi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapéi*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapéi* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household.

Each household has its own *kokué* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokué*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokué*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puleiro*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *abuí* for the group. Within the elementary family, fre-

[39] Dwelling is undoubtedly a basic of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapéi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapéi*. In other words, building a *tapéi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[140] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production.

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokué*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[141] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[142]

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a

[140] The existing *tapéi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapéi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses.

[141] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokué* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokué*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[142] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokué* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokué*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

proximity to kin or proximity to *hokó* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed.

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (*Cf. supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupí for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.)

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second face, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[1] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interest and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapiá*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *hokó*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed its pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own *hokó* happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family unitary worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[2]

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puhcha*. This work may have involved the members of more than single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably joined with together in interaction

[1] Wirth, 1927, p. 19. [2] Ibid.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[143] The *puhirõ* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *sauchirõ* [*puhirõ*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[144]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puhirõ* and something less than total participation by all individuals in the village.[145] Some individuals say that *puhirõ* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puhirõ* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *chuí*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide their fellows large quantities of *chuí* that keeps the *puhirõ* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puhirõ* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puhirõ* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokué*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside cheque work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *chuí* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[146] Nor is the large-scale *puhirõ* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puhirõ* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puhirõ*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puhirõ*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only help-giving. The distinction is

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[143] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the "*grupos de trabajo*" (work groups) which Bealdes (1937, pp. 80-112) has recognized among the Tzeltal.

[144] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1936, p. 137. The varying orthography of the word *puhirõ-sauchirõ* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupi-Guaraní consonant "*h*" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[145] It is true, of course, that the *puhirõ* may also previously have had some of the characters of the ayllucuti; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the differences on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[146] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *chuí*, mentioned supra, p. 86. There is probably some relation of this thing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *chuí* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since indeed crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in their order of importance. An agricultural surplus might thus favorably affect the consumption of *chuí*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.[18] The contemporary *puhirão* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, then, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *puhirão* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *puhirão* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism.

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *change*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *puhirão* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *puhirão*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to sell have, moreover, penetrated further than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pots and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *change*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little reason for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans-

[18] Nimuendajú, 1987, pp. 59-67.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 438 464 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" change and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

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*178 433 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism" and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercialism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and individualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

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Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not synonymous

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

time in the history of Cayuá acquaintance with whites, white tools, and white economy, men began using the metal implements now so important in their own farming; moreover, the *change* included agricultural work other than only felling trees and clearing, the aboriginal male agricultural tasks.[180] It is suggested, therefore, that the *change* may have been influential in habituating Cayuá men to agricultural operations associated with the white introduced metal tools.

II. B. c. "Division of labor: individual work (vs. joint and cooperative labor) becomes relatively more important in a number of basic activities, notably agriculture and house-building." The most important factor in making feasible the present largely individual work is (II. A. c.) the greater individual efficiency in agriculture of the modern Cayuá. The significance of this factor is emphasized by (II. A. a.) the primary importance of modern agriculture. But the mere possibility of a more individual manner of working does not guarantee its realization. Individuals, for example, could become more efficient, thanks to (I. b.) better implements with which to operate, but they might well continue to work jointly or cooperatively as much as ever. Since Cayuá joint or cooperative work has not continued on the same scale as aboriginally, however, it remains to search for reasons beyond the permissive technological one which would account for the change to more individual forms of labor.

(II. B. a.), the assumption by men of productive activities in agriculture which were new to them suggests the possibility of a corresponding new conception of individual work in these activities. Joint or cooperative usages which applied in aboriginal male work, that is, would not necessarily be carried over into such new activities as farming. Admittedly there would be some tendency for former practices to reappear, *mutatis mutandis*. However, if other factors weighed in favor of individual work, a carry-over of older joint work usages would be less likely than if the sexual division of labor remained unaltered.

We cannot, of course, be entirely sure to what extent aboriginal male activities actually were individual. Joint or cooperative male work probably found expression in aboriginal fishing, particularly where fish poisoning or damming was used as a technique. But inasmuch as the importance of Cayuá fishing is in doubt, such joint fishing usages may have had only a limited influence. In aboriginal agriculture there was also a certain cooperativeness in

[180] At this point, the chronological question becomes significant: when did Cayuá male labor for whites begin in relation to (a) the beginning of larger scale Cayuá agriculture, and (b) the beginning of increased Cayuá male participation in agricultural activities? There is some reason to believe that Cayuá men were already working occasionally for creole Paraguayans while Cayuá agriculture was still fairly close to its aboriginal condition. Bruguez (1930, pp. 189-191 *et passim*.) mentions or implies both circumstances as being contemporary; but if it was not true that Cayuá of that time worked agriculturally for the creoles, the fact still remains that metal implements, or tools probably were used by the men, as in the cutting of cane.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 241 462 476 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *kokué* or planting, along extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricultural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially once so drive is indicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 182 462 464 476 648 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual male labor, (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians. (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *changa* and trade.) Neither of these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *changa* a man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Just wage work of Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here payment is individual; the *changa* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricultural) work alone. In *changa*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly ha joint or cooperative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *changa* has become more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 182 43 464 476 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and *changa* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. However, if it changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence on change upon the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, or perhaps other types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribution at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods like their aboriginal equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, *et cetera*, are matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, if food, be distributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as troublesomely so it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá strive for trade goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give in the ultima-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

in exchange. What would be the effect on the aboriginal joint production and distribution system of the exchange of joint produce for articles which were to be individually used? Could one well take corn from joint household stores to exchange for a machete which primarily would be his own? There was thus a tendency to produce individually goods which were to be bartered for benefits enjoyed individually.

In the *chaco* the problem of trade goods is more simply resolved. An individual can more easily exchange his services for individual compensation than he can goods which are jointly produced. It is likely, furthermore, that the exchange of services for trade goods in the *chaco* preceded any significant exchange of Cayuá produce for trade goods. Thus the ground may well have been broken for some individualization of production before the people actually began to trade their corn and other produce.

To sum up the reasons for a growing individualization of work, particularly in agriculture, the *chaco* and trade with Neo-Brazilians are both conducted along lines in which individual work is almost exclusively involved. In the second place, they both imply certain conflicts, especially regarding distribution of goods, with aboriginal forms of joint or cooperative labor and production. These conflicts, together with the technical feasibility of individual work, have been important causes of the decrease of joint and cooperative labor and production.

With reference to housebuilding, one other activity where modern individualization is noted, it will merely be registered here that a change from joint and cooperative work to more highly individual work has apparently occurred among the Cayuá, as a result of acculturational factors. Housebuilding activities are intimately connected with the complex of causes and effects to be discussed with (II. B. c.) the decrease in size of the production and consumption units. Analysis of the present point, then, will be left until later.[20]

II. B. c. "Production-consumption group: size and composition of basic unit shift from extended family to elementary family. Closely related are (1) a change to small house types, and (2) a modification of dwelling patterns (at Tuquepiré), re location of house near *kokué*." The change of the basic social unit has two broad aspects, (a) the feasibility of the elementary family, and (b) the desirability of the change from the aboriginal extended family. We shall treat the two aspects somewhat separately.[21]

[20] Indeed, the entire present question of a greater emphasis on individual work is closely related to a number of points which follow, including what is described as III. B. g.) a change in attitudes as to relations of individual and group. Very likely they are all but different facets of a single broad question, and the whole will not be seen well until the various facets have all been analyzed.

[21] The distinction between "feasibility" and "desirability" here and elsewhere in this paper relates closely to Homans' "Three elements or determinants of the behavior of individuals in groups," *sentiments, sentiments, and interactions* (Homans, 1941, pp. 12 ff.) "Feasibility" would imply, in Homans' scheme, practically the same thing as operations possible on the environment,

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

dictator, Francia, ordered the destruction of the five missions south of the Paraná River. The 15 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1816–18. The *Guaraní* who were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ancient missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio Lopez, suppressed Bucarelli's regime and forced the 6,000 *Guaraní* who still occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable controversy concerning their alleged communistic organization.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The early *Guaraní* seem to have been proficient horticulturists, perhaps superior to their modern descendants, the *Caingud*, who are said to be unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guaraní* supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild fruits, and with game and fish.

Farming.—The whole community, among both ancient and modern *Guaraní*, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and sowing were regulated by the course of the Pleiades. The main agricultural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except cayenne pepper, were raised by the *Guaraní* and are still grown by their descendants, the *Caingud* and the Paraguayan Mestizos. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize are the staples. The *Caingud* cultivate manioc, maize (5 varieties), several varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, mangaza (*Xanthosoma* sp.), a tuber called caraibe (*Dioscorea* sp.), a leguminous called cabureiba, peanuts, pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb (*Nicandra* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Rhamnidium* sp., and *Cair laevigata-jobi*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The *Pull* and *Chiripá* raise tarragon seeds, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for their arrow shafts. The *Caingud* are very fond of sugarcane, which is for them a delicacy.

Gathering wild foods.—The *Guaraní* of the southern Brazilian plateau consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which are abundant in that region.

The modern *Caingud* subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild plants, especially pindo palms (*Cocos romanzoffiana*). This tree not only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4 Cayua

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the roça, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women.

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present use and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous cultures elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

The Jesuits, 1620-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary ac-

9 "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. There seem to be no native words for this beverage in the Guarani.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is commonly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe. Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neighbors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubtless were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete performs at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming.

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Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*-fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the *timbó* technique may have been due merely to the fact that progresively less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual activity because of different needs introduced by the change in economy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity might have been increased with an increase in agriculture.

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Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualization is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of his day:[21] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single household for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture

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[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays. Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This, we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic individualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by, and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families, which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taquapiry, at least.

Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage, a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain individuals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive recourse to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and, furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, except for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispensable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too, incomplete integration within the group (there are several newcomers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "afford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with indefinite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost certainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy. 177 178 437 438

But the matter has developed farther — and here there is certainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services are performed. A man (or a woman — a widow, in the cases observed) will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the "*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão.*" But there can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with sufficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents, bereft of wider significance. 177 178 464 437 465

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this occasional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the "cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institution of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly — and still today, in many respects — the basis of the *puxirão* work party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the *chicha*, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and immediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social 177 178 496 437

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476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão*, and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one was obliged to furnish.

177 Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
182 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic ac-
434 tivity, it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão*, or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão*, and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça*. He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

434 The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
182 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
184 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or
177 he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *rôça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão*. These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

476 The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend
182 the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
177 do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça*. He himself, however, may wish to give a *puxirão*, to help "catch up." In this case, the

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purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself.

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

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